UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

THE TEMPLE OF QUIRINUS

CORA AILEEN PICKETT

A THESIS

IN LATIN

PRESENTED TO THE FACULTY OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

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FOREWORD

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I

Introduction

Many of the cults of ancient Rome are shrouded in mystery, but none of them is more baffling to the student of Roman religion than that of the god Quirinus. The Romans believed that he was of Sabine origin, the chief deity of a Sabine community on the Quirinal Hill,[1] and scholars today have generally accepted this as a fact.[2]

The exact location of the Temple of Quirinus has been unknown. The references to the sanctuary found in ancient authors are somewhat indefinite, and have been so misunderstood that topographers, from the Middle Ages even to our own times, have generally either assigned an incorrect location to the temple, or said that the exact site could not be determined. It is our purpose to reexamine the evidence available, and to ascertain where the *sacellum* and the *aedes Quirini* were located.

The origin of the name Quirinus has even from ancient times been a subject for inquiry. Varro[3] said that Titus Tatius came to Rome from Cures, and that from this fact the people were called Quirites, and their god, Quirinus. Festus,[4] Servius,[5] and Strabo[6] agreed with this view, while Plutarch,[7] Macrobius,[8] and Ovid[9] said that the name was derived from *curis*, a Sabine word for spear[10]. A third view was that of André Piganiol,[11] who suggested that the name was derived from *Kronos*, a *κοίρανος qui Graece rex dicitur: constat autem Graecos fuisse Romanos.*[12] He said that the two words came from the same origin and that

[1] Plut. *Rom.* 29; Dion. Hal. 2.48; Fest. 255 M.; Binder *Die Plebs* 149.
[2] *Cf.* André Piganiol *Bib. des Écoles Fran.*, 110. 250; Binder *Die Plebs* 139.
[3] *L. L.* 5.51, 5. 72.
[4] 255 M.
[5] *Ad Aen.* 7. 710.
[6] 5. 3. 228.
[7] *Q. R.* 87.
[8] 1. 9. 15.
[9] *Fast.* 2. 480.
[10] J. E. Harrison *B. S. A.* 15. 309–333.
[11] *Bib. des Écoles Fran.* 110. 114.
[12] Serv. *ad Aen.* 1. 292.

"Quirinus" meant "the king". He added that his interpretation explained the legend which identified Quirinus with the first king.

The presence of graves found near Magnanapoli and the former Villa Spithoever seems to point to a distinctly separate village on the Quirinal Hill. Both of these cemeteries are off the plateau, and we may perhaps assume, therefore, that they were outside the walls or pomerium of the ancient settlement. André Piganiol[13] declared that these inhumation graves of the Villa Spithoever could not belong to the Sabine city of the Quirinal. However, they do give evidence of a very early settlement unconnected with that of the Palatine Hill.

Tradition says[14] that when Romulus had built his new city and the male inhabitants had forcibly taken unto themselves wives from among their Sabine guests, the enmity that arose was finally settled by a treaty between Romulus and Titus Tatius. During the war the latter, according to Varro,[15] had brought soldiers from the town of Cures and had established a camp on the hill, which was then called Agonus[16] or Agonalis. After the conflict was ended, a community of Sabines was formed there, and by the terms of the treaty they received land and citizenship on an equality with the Romans, becoming one people with them, called Quirites, under the joint rule of Romulus and Titus Tatius.[17] The Sabines brought with them from Cures the worship of an agrarian deity Enyalios,[18] whose earlier home or whose use of spears in driving away the spirit of the old year won for him the adjectival cult-name Quirinus.[19] As in the case of Mars, the use of spears and shields in ritualistic practices brought to the Sabine deity the character of a war-god. His importance to the religious life of the community is proved

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[13] *Loc. cit.*
[14] Livy 1. 9.
[15] *L. L.* 5. 51.
[16] Paul. ex Fest. 10 M.
[17] Serv. *ad Aen.* 7. 110; Dion. Hal. 2. 50. 1; Quint. *Inst. Or.* 1. 6. 31; Ovid *Fast.* 2. 511; Festus 254 M.; Livy 1. 13.
[18] Dion. Hal. 2. 48. 2.
[19] Macrob. 1. 9. 15, 16; Varro *L. L.* 5. 72; Plut. *Q. R.* 87.

by the fact that the name Quirinalis[20] was later given, not only to Agonus, the elevation upon which stood the sanctuary of Quirinus, but also to the whole hill.[21]

The knowledge of the Romans' usually implacable attitude toward conquered peoples forces one to view with suspicion the terms of the treaty made by Romulus and Tatius. As Pais[22] pointed out, the facts that the united peoples bore the name Quirites, formerly used only of the Sabines, that a Sabine king Numa is glorified in Roman tradition as the one who established various phases of Roman religion, that an Appius Claudius could come to the city with a clientèle of 20,000 to 25,000 persons and receive sufficient land on which to live, place for burial, and citizenship for all his company, apparently prove that the Sabines had won in the conflict and had dictated terms favorable to themselves. This would explain why the earlier animistic worship and the gods of the *montani* were overshadowed by the local gods of the *collini*, which came to be accepted by the united community. Just as the Capitoline triad, derived from the Etruscans through the earlier worship of the Capitolium Vetus, found place in the center of Roman religious thought,[23] so Quirinus, seen as the counterpart of the Palatine Mars, was finally identified with him,[24] and he became so Latinized that his original characteristics were almost lost. The name of Quirinus is often added to that of Mars, but there is only one place known where the name Mars replaces that of Quirinus. This is in the inscription found in the precincts of the Temple of Quirinus.[25]

P. CORN [elios]
Ɫ. F. COSO [l]
PROBA [vit]
MAR [te sacrom]

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[20] Platner considers that the name Agonus was an invention of antiquarians, derived from *agere* "to offer sacrifices"; Platner *Top. Dict.* 3; *cf.* Walde *Lat. Etym. Wörter.* 21.

[21] Varro *L. L.* 5. 51; Festus 255M.

[22] *Ricerche sulla storia e sul diritto publico di Roma* 349.

[23] *Cf.* André Piganiol *Bib. des Écoles Fran.* 110. 302; Jordan *Topog.* 1. 3. 410.

[24] Binder *Die Plebs* 139.

[25] *C. I. L.* 1^1. 41 = 1^2. 18 = 6. 475.

Yet the two flamens, the two groups of Salii, and the two sets of shields indicate that two separate cults were established about two similar gods. There seems, however, to have remained in the minds of the Romans some memory of the peaceful functions of Quirinus, even after Mars was considered only a god of war. Servius wrote:[26] *Mars enim, cum saevit, Gradivus dicitur, cum tranquillus est, Quirinus*, and remarked[27] upon the fact that no Temple of Mars could be inside the city, while Quirinus remained through the whole period of Roman history upon the hill that bears his name.

As the influence of the Palatine settlement grew, the religious ideas originating on the Quirinal were assimilated and Latinized, until through the legend of Romulus and his apotheosis we see the attempt to connect the mythical founder of Rome, deified in the minds of his loyal descendants, with the ancient god Quirinus. Romulus, the son of Mars according to the story,[28] had attributes similar to those of Quirinus. Just as the Quirinal community, when in the ascendancy, imposed upon the united people the worship of its chief deity, so, as the dignity and power of the Palatine community grew, the deified founder of their city came to be on an equality with the similar god Quirinus, and later absorbed him, until in 200 B. C. we find the worship of Quirinus developed into a worship of the deified Romulus.[29] The disappearing hero himself gave directions[30] that a temple be built in his honor, and that he be worshipped by the united Romans as a "new Quirinus".

No other device could have been found which would have broken down the division between the two parts of the kingdom more effectively than this union of the dominating religious influences, which placed the founder of the one settlement among the supreme deities of the other. Lactantius[31] noted the fact that it is often true that peoples regard with the greatest

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[26] *Ad Aen.* 1. 292.
[27] *Ad Aen.* 6. 860, 1. 292.
[28] Livy 1. 4. 2; Vergil *Aen.* 1. 272.
[29] Cic. *De Nat. Deor.* 2. 24, *De Offic.* 3. 41; *C. I. L.* 1^2. 189.
[30] Cic. *De Leg.* 1. 1. 3, *De Re Pub.* 2. 20; Ovid *Fast.* 2. 499; Aur. Vict. *Vir. Ill.* 2. 14; *cf.* Livy 1. 16.
[31] *Inst.* (*de Falsa Religione*) 1. 15. 8.

reverence the founders of their nation or men preeminent on account of their bravery, or even women of unusual purity. But it is worthy of mention that Titus Tatius was not deified by his followers, and that the Sabine king Numa is cited[32] as the authority for the deification and worship of Romulus, the son of Mars, as Quirinus.

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[32] Dion. Hal. 2. 63.

II

Mamurius

Among the myths growing around the deity Mars-Quirinus is the story of Mamurius. In the time of Numa a shield fell from heaven. Prosperity was promised to the new state as long as this shield should be protected from harm. The king secured the services of a smith, Mamurius Veturius, who made eleven others of the same type, in order that the sacred shield might better be safeguarded against theft. When asked what the reward of his labor should be, he asked only that his name should be included in the Salian hymns.[1] The name does occur in them,[2] a fact which probably accounts for the story of the skilled artisan. But Marmar, Mamor, or Marmor, it is now generally agreed, is merely a reduplicated form of Mars.[3] In the Carmen Arvale, the Salian hymn to Mars invoked as an agrarian deity, is the oft repeated *Marmor iuvato*. In Cato[4] we find prayers of the same general type made to the agricultural Mars. Apparently the Romans themselves had forgotten the meaning of the invocation to Marmar, and the story told above is the later legend which attempted to solve the mystery.[5] The name Mamurius itself seems to be derived from Marmar, as is also Mamercus, in precisely the same way that Marcus is derived from Mars.[6] Scholars have also ascribed the name Mamurius to the god himself and Mamurius Veturius to the incarnation of winter driven out before the advent of spring.[7] Jordan,[8] however, was doubtful about the identification of Mamurius with Mars. The addition of the name Veturius presents its

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[1] Ovid *Fast.* 3. 259, 382–392; Festus 131 M.; Plut. *Numa* 13; Wissowa *R. K.* 147, 558.
[2] *C. I. L.* 1^1. 28 = 1^2. 2.
[3] Walde *Lat. Etym. Wörter.*[2] 466; Usener *Rh. Mus.* 30. 209.
[4] *Agr.* 141.
[5] *Cf.* Fowler *Rom. Fest.* 45.
[6] Walde *op. cit.* 464; Preller *Rom. Myth.* 1. 336.
[7] Preller *Röm. Myth.* 1. 337.
[8] Preller *op. cit.* 1. 336.

own difficulties. It is adjectival, possibly meaning *old*. Lydus[9] told of an ancient rite taking place on March fourteenth. A man dressed in goat skins and bearing the name Mamurius Veturius was led through the streets of Rome, beaten with peeled rods and driven from the city. That he was compelled to go to the enemy, the Oscans, was the conclusion of Usener,[10] who based his theory upon the somewhat ambiguous words of Propertius:[11]

> at tibi, Mamuri, formae caelator aënae,
> tellus artifices ne premat Osca manus,
> qui me tam docilis potuisti fundere in usus
> unum opus est: operi non datur unus honos.

Frazer[12] called him a scapegoat, the incarnation of the spirit of vegetation, dying in the autumn and revived in the spring. The descriptive *Veturius*, under this interpretation, seems not inappropriate for the old spirit of death, who must be driven away before the new vegetation may grow.

Servius said[13] that a day was consecrated to Mamurius for the purpose of this ceremony, evidently the Mamuralia. Fowler's view of this[14] seems to be the most probable,—that "the Salian songs gave rise to the legend of Mamurius and this in turn gave a new name to the Equirria or *feriae Marti*". There is no mention of the Mamuralia until the *Fasti* of Philocalus in the fourth century A. D. This in itself would seem to indicate that the whole worship of Mamurius and the legends surrounding it were a late and popular variation of the older worship of Mars. The one fact that concerns us here is that Mamurius, whether scapegoat, skilled metal-worker, or god, is closely connected with Mars and his counterpart Quirinus.

The Regionary Catalogues name among the monuments to be found in the Sixth Region, or Alta Semita, a *statua Mamuri*. The *Descriptio Regionum Interpolata* of Publius Victor calls it

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[9] Lydus *De Mens.* 4. 49; *cf.* Minucius Felix *Oct.* 24. 3.
[10] *Rh. Mus.* 30. 209.
[11] Propertius 5 (4). 2. 61-64.
[12] *Golden Bough* 2. 208; *cf.* J. E. Harrison *B. S. A.* 15. 332.
[13] *Ad Aen.* 7. 188.
[14] *Rom. Fest.* 45.

statua Mamuri plumbea. This statue is mentioned in the *Notitia* between the Capitolium Antiquum and the Templum Dei Quirini, while in the *Curiosum* the order is, *Capitolium Antiquum, Thermas Constantinas, Statuam Mamuri, Templum Dei Quirini.* As the *Notitia* names together the Baths of Constantine and those of Diocletian, the order of buildings in the *Curiosum* seems the more significant. In both lists the Capitolium Vetus, the Statua Mamuri, and the Temple of Quirinus are between the temples of Salus and Serapis, known to be at the west end of the hill, and the Horti Sallustiani, Aedes Gentis Flaviae, the Thermae Diocletianae, and the Castra Praetoria, whose location is certain, toward the eastern part of the hill. We should look, then, for the region sacred to Mars-Quirinus and Mamurius in the central portion, between the buildings whose sites are unquestioned.

We have mention also of a Vicus Mamuri or a Clivus Mamuri in the Sixth Region in documents of the Middle Ages.[15] There is no trace of this today, and its exact location is conjectural. The Acts of Saint Susanna place it close to the Church of S. Susanna. Donati[16] stated this location positively and quoted from the *Acta:* Erat coniuncta Caii domus cum aedibus Sanctae Susannae, et Gabinii Patris eius. Facta sunt haec in sexta regione apud Vicum Mamurii ante Forum Salustii. Pomponius Leto[17] places the *vicus* at S. Susanna, adding, *et ibi erat eius statua.* Probably his authority was the above mentioned *Acta.* Albertini[18] agreed with him and spoke of S. Ambrogius as the source of his information. Andreas Fulvius[19] cited this also in reaching the same conclusion. Marliano[20] spoke in the same way, noting the proximity of the street to the Gardens of Sallust. He also quoted Ambrogius as his authority. Lucio Fauno[21] placed the street *iuxta Divae Susannae* and added that the Temple of Quirinus was at that point. He stated that all of these sites

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[15] *Lib. Pont.* 42. 6. *Vita Innoc.* 1. 401, *Acta S. Susannae,* 11 *Aug.* 632.
[16] *De urbe Roma* (ed. 1695) 235.
[17] *De vetustate urbis* (ed. De Rossi) 3. 60.
[18] Quoted by Marchetti *Bull. Com.* 1914. 62.
[19] *Antichità di Roma* (ed. 1527) 23, (ed. 1545) 138.
[20] *Topog.* (ed. 1588) 5. 24. 98, *Descrizione di Roma antica* 3.
[21] *De antiquitatibus urbis Romae* 98.

were near the gate now called Salaria. Barbiellini[22] continued the tradition that the Vicus Mamuri was near S. Susanna.

In modern times archaeologists have followed the example of mediaeval writers. Platner and his collaborators[23] placed the statue and the Vicus Mamuri near the Church of S. Susanna, although Urlichs himself[24] repudiated the authority of the Acta S. Susannae in establishing the topographical sites of the hill. Lanciani, too,[25] agreed in placing the statue and the Vicus Mamuri in the immediate vicinity of S. Susanna, and he mentioned its proximity to the Gardens of Sallust, stating his belief that the chief entrance to this garden was inside the city and near the church. Marchetti[26] believed in the site at S. Susanna, basing her convictions upon a recently found manuscript, which described the regions of the city.

On the other hand, we know from the Pontifical records[27] that the ground given for the Basilica of S. Vitalis included

> domum iuxta basilicam Livianum,
> balneum in eodem loco iuxta templum Mamurri,
> domum in clivo Salutis balneatum,
> . . . .
> domum Emeriti in clivo Mamuri intra urbem
> Romam iuxta basilicam,
> domum in clivo Patricii arbitratam,
> domum iuxta basilicam in vico longo, quae
> cognominatur ad lacum, etc.

This land extended from the Clivus Salutis west of S. Vitalis, along the Vicus Longus to the Clivus Mamuri, which must be on the eastern side, leaving Vicus Longus approximately where Via Genova crosses Via di S. Vitale, a vestige of the old Vicus Longus.[28] In 1890 Lanciani reported[29] the discovery of an

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[22] *Roma antica* (ed. 1741) 52.

[23] Platner, Bunsen, Gerhard, Rostell, and Urlichs *Beschr. d. St. Rom.* 3. 2. 366.

[24] *Beschr. d. St. Rom.* 3. 2. 370.

[25] *Bull. Com.* 1873. 228.

[26] *Bull. Com.* 1914. 62, 373.

[27] *Lib. Pont.* 42. 6, *Vita Innoc.* 1. 6. 401–417.

[28] *Cf.* Jordan *Topog.* 1. 3. 410 and map; Huelsen *Rh. Mus.* 1894. 405, 417; Gilbert *Topog.* 1. 295, 3. 370.

[29] *Bull. Com.* 1890. 136.

ancient street leading from the Porta Viminalis to a point just east of S. Vitalis. As this is about the limit of the land given for S. Vitalis, it seems more than probable that the Vicus Mamuri, which is to be sought in this immediate neighborhood, leaves Vicus Longus where the Vicus Viminalis joins it, and forms the connecting link between it and the Alta Semita. A street at right angles with the Vicus Longus would pass between the Domus Aemiliae Paulinae Asiaticae and the Domus Flavi Sabini, erroneously called Domus Gentis Pomponiae by Lanciani,[30] and would reach the Alta Semita very close to the north side of the Church of S. Andrea al Quirinale. The orientation of the walls of Domus Aemiliae Paulinae Asiaticae and Domus Flavi Sabini would prove that they were built in relation to this Vicus Mamuri and to the Vicus Longus.[31]

Huelsen[32] rightly pointed out the importance of the Clivus Mamuri for the location of other buildings. In the first place, why did a street of minor importance receive the name Mamurius? It is very evident that it led to a location connected with the worship of Mars. Mediaeval sources[33] mentioned the statue of Mamurius near the Clivus Mamuri. The Regionary Catalogues placed it between the Baths of Constantine and the Temple of Quirinus, which was followed in turn by the Gardens of Sallust. The obvious place for it is at the head of the Clivus Mamuri, probably across the Alta Semita where it looks down the street to the valley. A tall statue would have been placed then, as now in Italy, at a strategic point.

The grants of land quoted above mentioned also a Temple of Mamurius. It has been suggested[34] that the statue of Mamurius stood in an *aedicula*. It seems more logical to suppose that the part of the hill above the Clivus Mamuri was sacred to Mars, that the statue stood on holy ground, and that the *aedes Quirini* was near by.

But in reaching this conclusion as to the location of the Clivus

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[30] *F. U.* Pl. 16.

[31] *Loc. cit.*

[32] *Rh. Mus.* 1894. 383, 417; Jordan *Topog.* 1. 3. 410; *cf.* Gilbert *Topog.* 1. 295.

[33] *Reg. Cat., Reg.* 6; Pomponius Leto *De vet. urb.* (ed. De Rossi) 3. 60.

[34] Urlichs *Beschr. d. St. Rom.* 3. 2. 366–370.

Mamuri one must reject the testimony of all the mediaeval writers on topography. Numerous though they are, their conclusions rest upon but two facts. First, the *Acta S. Susannae* contain the statement quoted above, that the grant of land for this church included ground along the Clivus Mamuri. This must be rejected. Urlichs[35] pointed out that the *Acta* are not entirely trustworthy for topographical purposes, and showed other cases where their testimony must be ignored. Jordan[36] declared that there must have been a confusion in two names in an account otherwise beyond criticism. It is necessary to disbelieve one of our two Christian sources, since they conflict, unless one is to believe that there were two streets of the same name, a Clivus Mamuri at S. Vitalis, and a Vicus Mamuri at S. Susanna. This is the conclusion actually reached by Preller[37].

The cause of error on the part of Lanciani and others was the confusion in the names of the city gates. This uncertainty was brought about by a corrupt passage in Festus,[38] emended according to the conjecture of Fulvius Ursinus:[39] Quiri[nalis porta eadem quae et Collina dicebatur], ut le[gimus apud antiquos scriptores]. Since scholars were thus led to believe that the Porta Quirinalis was identical with the Porta Collina, they placed the Temple of Quirinus, and all other sites in topographical relation with these, close to the Porta Collina and, therefore, near S. Susanna. The name Porta Salutis was then given to the gate at Via Quattro Fontane, and all the temples grouped around it were brought back, away from the center of the city. A closer study of the available testimony from ancient writers, notably Varro's account of the *sacraria Argeorum*[40] and the four parts of the Quirinal Hill, has established a conviction on the part of topographers[41] that the Porta Salutis was to be found near the modern Piazza Quirinale, and the Porta Quirinalis at Via Quattro Fontane. This change necessarily revises the

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35 *Loc. cit.*
36 *Topog.* 2. 126.
37 *Die Reg. d. St. Rom.* 134.
38 254 M.
39 Quoted by Wissowa *Ges. Abh.* 149.
40 *L. L.* 5. 45.
41 Wissowa *loc. cit.;* Huelsen *Rh. Mus.* 1894. 410.

location of the temples and sites which bear any relation to the gates, and refutes every argument in support of a location near the Colline Gate for the Vicus Mamuri and the statue of Mamurius.

Nardini[42] mentioned a *vico di Quirino* which he derived from the account of Rufus. This can be no other than the Vicus Mamuri which joined the Alta Semita at no great distance from the Temple of Quirinus. The name *Quirinenses*, found in one inscription only,[43] was probably given to those who lived on this street. The confusion in names is entirely intelligible on account of the identification of Mamurius with Quirinus.

[42] *Roma antica* 4. 5.
[43] *C. I. L.* 6. 9975.

III

History of the Temple of Quirinus

We have seen that the Sabines, when they came to the Quirinal Hill to form their new settlement, brought with them their own gods, among whom was Quirinus, the god of agricultural prosperity. Beyond any doubt there was from very early times some kind of precinct and altar sacred to him on the Quirinal Hill. Tradition[1] says that the shrine ordered by Romulus was erected in his honor as a "new Quirinus," at the point where he disappeared from the earth. Festus[2] mentioned an early *sacellum* near the Porta Quirinalis. It is of this shrine that Pliny wrote,[3] *Inter antiquissima namque delubra habetur Quirini, hoc est ipsius Romuli.* And he spoke also of two myrtle trees which stood before the temple for many years, symbolizing the patrician and the plebeian orders.

According to Livy,[4] in the year 436 B. C., at the time of the war with Veii and Fidenae, Julius, the consul, placed his troops upon the ramparts and walls to protect the city, while Verginius consulted the Senate *in aede Quirini.* It is not unnatural to suppose that while the military forces were drawn up near the Colline Gate and other vulnerable points, the Senators were taking thought for the safety of Rome at no great distance from their leaders, possibly in the sacred precinct of Mars-Quirinus. But, as has been pointed out by Jordan and others,[5] it is incredible that there was at this time a Temple of Quirinus large enough to hold the entire Senate. Livy is confusing the early shrine with the Papirian temple, built almost one hundred and fifty years later.

We hear of the Temple of Quirinus again[6] when, after the

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[1] Livy 1. 16; Ovid *Fast.* 2. 503; Cic. *De Re Pub.* 2. 10. 20.
[2] 255 M.
[3] *N. H.* 15. 120.
[4] 4. 21. 9.
[5] *Topog.* 1. 3. 407; Platner *Top. Dict.* 438; Becker *Handbuch* 1. 132; *cf.* Aust *De aed. sac.* 11; Wissowa *Hermes* 26. 137.
[6] Plut. *Cam.* 20; Livy 5. 40. 8.
[7] *Loc. cit.*

victory of the Gauls, the Vestal Virgins fled from their temple with the sacred fire and the holy relics entrusted to them. These were placed in a cask and buried in or near the Temple of Quirinus, or according to Livy,[7] *sacello proximo aedibus flaminis Quirinalis*, which may have been the little *sacellum* near the Porta Quirinalis. The Von Duhn, however, stated[8] that the casks were buried in the Velabrum, in a spot far more convenient for the Vestals in their flight.

In the war with Fidenae, 325 B. C., the dictator L. Papirius Cursor vowed a temple to Quirinus, if success should attend his efforts, a pledge which was carried out in 293 B. C. by his son, L. Papirius Cursor.[9] In his account of the dedication Livy added: Exornavitque hostium spoliis quorum tanta multitudo fuit, ut non templum tantum forumque his ornaretur, sed sociis etiam coloniisque finitimis ad templorum locorumque publicorum ornatum dividerentur.

In 206 B. C., the Temple of Quirinus, along with that of Salus and of Ceres, was damaged by lightning,[10] a disaster which led the consuls to offer greater sacrifices to the gods and decree a day of supplication.

Dio Cassius[11] recorded a conflagration which in 49 B. C. consumed the Temple of Quirinus as well as other buildings. But one may assume that his words are not to be taken to mean that the temple was burned to the ground, since in 45 B. C., we are told,[12] a statue of Julius Caesar with the inscription *Deo Invicto* was set up in the Temple of Quirinus. Cicero mentions this in his letters to Atticus,[13] with mocking criticism of Caesar's presumption.

Apparently the hurried restoration after the fire of 49 had not been adequate. At any rate, soon after his identification with Romulus as the second founder of Rome,[14] Augustus rebuilt the temple; for among those mentioned in the *Monumentum*

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[8] Quoted in Platner *Top. Dict.* 153.
[9] Pliny *N. H.* 7. 213; Livy 10. 46. 7.
[10] Livy 28. 11. 4.
[11] 41. 14. 3.
[12] Dio Cass. 43. 45. 2.
[13] *Ad Att.* 12. 47. 3, 12. 45. 3, 13. 28. 3; *cf.* Dio Cass. 43. 45. 2.
[14] Suet. *Aug.* 7. 2; K. Scott *T. A. P. A.* 56. 82–105.

Ancyranum[15] as having been built new, not restored, by Augustus in 16 B. C., is the *aedes Quirini*.[16] This temple was of far greater size than the former buildings, and far more magnificent. Vitruvius[17] described it thus: dipteros autem octastylos et pronao et postico, sed circa aedem duplices habet ordines columnarum uti est Quirini Dorica et Ephesi Dianae Ionica. Dio Cassius[18] said that Augustus adorned it with seventy-six columns, which corresponded in number to the years of his life. These columns were arranged in two rows of fifteen at each side, and two rows of eight at each end. (The four columns at each corner are counted twice in this description.) Around the temple was a colonnade, which is the portico mentioned by Martial[19] as a popular place for a promenade.

A relief, found on the northern side of the exedra of the Baths of Diocletian, and now placed in the Museo delle Terme, represents the façade as Doric tetrastyle. In the pediment are Romulus and Remus, taking the auspices, and the dominant gods arrayed on the side of Romulus. Whether the relief dates from the Flavian period, as Sieveking[20] and Helbig[21] declared, or from the time of Caracalla, as Hartwig[22] and Strong[23] contended, the temple indicated was unquestionably that of Quirinus, as rebuilt by Augustus.

Nardini[24] believed that the portico was separate from the temple, after the analogy of the porticoes of Pompey, Europa, and the Argonauts, and he placed it not on the hill but in the valley between the Viminal and the Quirinal hills, commonly called the Valle di Quirino. He contended that the portico gave the name to the valley. As nothing is known of such a separate structure, it seems probable that the broad portico around the

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[15] 4. 5, 6. 32.
[16] Dio Cass. 54. 19. 4.
[17] 3. 2. 7.
[18] *Loc. cit.*
[19] 11. 1. 9.
[20] *Festschrift für P. Arndt* 136.
[21] *Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen Roms* (ed. 3) 1418.
[22] Hartwig *Röm. Mitt.* 1904. 22–37, 157–158.
[23] Strong *Rom. Sculp.* 1. 72–74; *cf.* Scott *T. A. P. A.* 56. 92.
[24] *Roma antiqua* (ed. Nibby) 4. 6.

Temple of Quirinus is that mentioned by Martial,[25] especially as his home is known to have been at no great distance.

Fulvius[26] recorded that in later days the temple was always kept closed. He offered the suggestion that greater mystery was desired, and secured by the barred entrance, or that, as Romulus was now among the gods, he had no need of shelter. Marianus[27] added: Aiunt Quirini templum arcano consilio semper clausum, neque istud sane semper est apertum geminis enim impenetrabile portis, nec minima curiosis oculis rimula referatur. Even though the temple was no longer in use, it remained standing until the fourth century, for it was mentioned in the Regionary Catalogues.[28] But after this time the silence of the centuries concealed its history. No picturesque ruins of the Quirinus temple are shown on any of the maps of the Middle Ages. Its very existence was all but forgotten. Even its former site was unknown, and the unscientific topographers[29] of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries placed it at almost any point on the hill, from the modern Piazza Quirinale to the Porta Collina.

This confusion in regard to the location of the temple gave rise to a similar uncertainty as to whether there were possibly two, or even three, temples of Quirinus. It is generally agreed that there was an early *sacellum* close to the Porta Quirinalis.[30] As this gate was thought to be identical with the Porta Collina, and the location seemed too remote, the Papirian temple was considered an entirely different building. Nardini[31] noted that the Temple of Quirinus was said[32] to be near the *sacellum* of Semo Sancus, and as he opposed the statement of Donati[33]

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[25] 10. 58. 9–10, 11. 1. 9.

[26] *Urb. ant.* 2; *cf.* Andreas Marianus *Ruinarum Romae epigrammata* (ed. 1622) 63.

[27] *Loc. cit.*

[28] *Reg. Cat.*, *Reg.* 6.

[29] *Cf.* Jean Duc de Berry 1416, Lucio Fauno 1549, Bufalini 1551, Fabio Lici 1557, Paciotto 1557, Sebastiano del Rè 1557, Beatrizet 1557, Dosio 1561, Leon Pitor 1568, Bertelli 1569, Cartaro 1575, 1579, Du Pérac 1575, Jacobo Franco 1584, *Pianta anomina del 1600*, Jacobo de Rossi 1650.

[30] Festus 255M.

[31] *Roma antica* 4. 6.

[32] Livy 8. 20. 8.

[33] *De urbe Roma* 229.

that both were by the Colline Gate, he argued that there was a second temple in the center of the hill.

Lucio Mauro[34] said that a temple was built to Romulus at the place where he appeared to Proculus, and that this spot was above S. Vitalis, too far away from the Quirinal-Colline Gate to be identical with the ancient shrine there. He rightly said that the Temple of Quirinus would naturally be connected with the statue and street of Mamurius, and since these were for him close to S. Susanna, he found two locations for Quirinus and therefore two temples.

Gorgius Fabricius[35] wrote that there were several temples of Quirinus, of which the most important was in the Valley of Quirinus, surrounded by a portico.

Lorenzo Barbiellini noted[36] two temples of Quirinus: one which Augustus built, not far from Martial's home, the other the ancient one recorded by Festus.[37]

Merkel declared[38] that from ancient times there were two *fana*. The one was the ancient *sacellum* by the gate, which he identified with the shrine and altar of the Argei mentioned by Varro.[39] The second was a large building, in which the Senate met when summoned by Verginius during the war with Veii in 435 B. C.[40] He stated that Ovid[41] mentioned a third temple, that of Papirius, which could not be identified with either of the others and which was later rebuilt on the same spot by Augustus.

Marliano[42] distinguished the temple near the house of Atticus[43] from the Aedes Quirini Dorica of Vitruvius[44] and mentioned a'so a *sacellum vicinum* which was different from either.[45]

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[34] *Le antichità della città di Roma* (ed. 1562) 82.
[35] *Roma* 34.
[36] *Roma antica, distinta per regioni* (ed. 1741) 57.
[37] 255M
[38] *Prolegomena to Ovid's Fasti* 143.
[39] *L. L.* 5. 51.
[40] Livy 4. 21. 9.
[41] *Fasti* 6. 795.
[42] *Urbis Romae topographia* (ed. 1588) 97.
[43] Cic. *de Leg.* 1. 1. 13, *Ad Att.* 12. 45. 2, 12. 47. 3, 13. 28. 3, 4. 1. 4.
[44] 3. 2. 7.
[45] *Descrizione di Roma antica* (ed. 1719) 1. 114.

Franz Reber[46] placed the little *sacellum* by the Porta Collina (Quirinalis), but insisted that the great temple mentioned in the *Notitia* could not be the same, because of the order of temples as given in the Regionary Catalogues.

Aust[47] thought that the words of Livy, *a Verginio senatus in aede Quirini consulitur*, referred to an entirely different temple on the hill, not connected either with the *sacellum* or with the Papirian temple. He based this belief partly upon the fact that the latter was not built at this time and the *sacellum* was too small for the purpose, and partly upon the fact that in the ancient calendars there were three days sacred to Quirinus, which he thought were the probable founding days of three separate temples.

Jordan[48] asserted that Ovid in the two passages, *Fasti* 2. 530 and 6. 795, was speaking of two different temples and that Pliny,[49] while writing of the very ancient shrine between the myrtles, himself knew an entirely different one. Jordan, however, thought that Augustus rebuilt the Papirian temple on the same site.

Gilbert[50] stated that the Valley of Quirinus was named for the chief *sacellum* of the god, implying that the ancient shrine by the gate was totally different and in another place.

Rodolfo Bonfiglietti[51] found what he believed to be traces of the Temple and Portico of Quirinus near the Church of S. Andrea. He also mentioned another, which was destroyed when the gardens belonging to the Palazzo Reale were levelled. He spoke of a third, later than that of Numa, near S. Susanna, but did not discuss it.

The predecessors of Marliano, with the exception of Lucio Mauro,[52] recognized only one Temple of Quirinus. The ancient writers spoke of but one temple to the god, and while they mentioned various repairs and reconstructions to the building, it

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46 *Die Ruinen Roms* (ed. 1879) 494.
47 *De aed. sac.* 11.
48 *Ephem. Epig.* 1. 238.
49 *N. H.* 15. 120.
50 *Topog.* 1. 283.
51 *Bull. Com.* 1926. 150 ff.
52 *Le antichità della città di Roma* (ed. 1562) 82.

was still to them the ancient sanctuary of Quirinus. The later identification of the Porta Collina with the Porta Quirinalis is responsible for much of the confusion in locating the precincts of Quirinus. That the original Sabine community did not extend so far as the Colline Gate is indicated by the presence in the Villa Spithoever of the ancient cemetery which must have been outside the *pomerium*.[53] When this community was added by Servius to the Palatine settlement to form the City of Four Regions, it is extremely unlikely that he included more than the land occupied by the little town upon the hill. The most ancient shrines of the early community, as well as the *sacraria Argeorum*, were grouped about the four elevations later known as the Quirinal Hill.[54] The northeastern entrance to the city must have been, then, not at the Porta Collina but close to the Via Quattro Fontane.

Wissowa[55] pointed out that it is impossible to think of the Porta Quirinalis as other than the gate leading to the Collis Quirinalis, and we have shown above[56] that this Collis and later the whole hill received their names from the god whose simple altar had been placed there in earliest times by the Sabine inhabitants of the hill. We can, then, with certainty eliminate the Colline Gate and S. Susanna in determining the location of the sanctuary of Quirinus.[57]

Aust[58] mentioned the fact that the gods were often worshipped, in primitive times, at shrines without a roof. Later larger temples, more beautifully ornamented, either replaced the earlier altars or were built in the same sacred area. This is what he believed to have happened in the case of Quirinus. Becker[59] recalled that Numa built a temple for him (doubtless where Titus Tatius had placed the first simple altar) and that he associated Romulus with the already established cult of Quirinus. That the Senate could not possibly have met in any Temple of Qui-

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[53] See above, page 8.
[54] Varro *L. L.* 5. 45, 52.
[55] *Ges. Abh.* 144; *cf.* Huelsen *Rh. Mus.* 1894. 411.
[56] See above, page 9.
[57] *Cf.* Marchetti *Bull. Com.* 1914. 62.
[58] *De aed. sac.* 50; *cf.* Carlo Ludvico Visconti *Bull. Com.* 1876. 100.
[59] *Handbuch d. röm. Alterth.* 1. 569.

rinus existing in 435 B. C., is the opinion of the leading archaeologists of today.[60] It is recognized that Livy in recording this meeting was thinking of the Papirian temple which was not yet built. Without doubt this early temple is the one mentioned[61] in the fragments of the *Acta Argeorum* as being near the third *sacrarium* of the region, although in quoting the *Acta*, Varro called the sanctuary *aedes*. It is unlikely that there was any large or beautiful Temple of Quirinus on the hill at the time when Lucius Papirius Cursor vowed a suitable edifice for the great god. Becker's arguments[62] for the use of the old location for the new temple have been generally accepted.[63] It is possible that the ancient altar was retained close by the new temple, inasmuch as the earlier festival day was probably honored along with the founding day of the new temple.[64]

For one hundred and eighteen years the building stood, when a stroke of lightning made repairs necessary.[65] One hundred and fifty-eight more years passed. The temple revered by the worshippers of the late Republic had become an aged landmark, but it could not resist one of Rome's relentless fires, which swept down the length of the Alta Semita and consumed not only the Temple of Quirinus and the other buildings connected with the cult, but reached out and destroyed the Pulvinar Solis, which was west of Quirinus, and even the Temple of Salus near the Porta Salutis, where today is the Palazzo Reale.[66] The walls, still standing, were repaired by Julius Caesar and adorned with his own statue, as Deus Invictus.[67] That the temple in these various vicissitudes had lost its strength and beauty is indicated by its complete restoration by Augustus.

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[60] *Cf.* Jordan *Eph. Epig.* 1. 238 ff., *Topog.* 1. 3. 406; Lanciani *Bull. Com.* 1889. 336 ff.; Wissowa *Ges. Abh.* 144 ff. For a contrasting view, see Aust *De aed. sac.* 11.

[61] Varro *L. L.* 5. 52.

[62] *Loc. cit.*

[63] *Cf.* Wissowa *Röm. Rel. Gesch.*, in *Hermes* 26 (1891). 137.

[64] *Cf.* Mommsen *C. I. L.* 1. 386, Becker *Handbuch d. Röm. Alterth.* 1. 569, Jordan *Ephem. Epig.* 1. 238; Merkel *Prolegomena to Ovid's Fasti* 143; Wissowa *Hermes* 26. 137.

[65] Livy 28. 11. 4.

[66] Dio Cass. 41. 14. 3.

[67] Dio Cass. 43. 45. 2.

He built it "new", but still retained the old location.[68] The description of Vitruvius[69] shows that the old walls had been torn down and a totally different temple erected.

Becker[70] showed that the Augustan temple is to be considered only as a complete rebuilding of the Papirian structure. It was greatly enlarged, and moved back on the hill. Merkel[71] thought, however, that Dio meant by ἐκ καινῆς[72] an entirely new edifice. The temple mentioned by Vitruvius[73] is, of course, the Augustan restoration. If the former temple had been built with seventy-six columns, he would not have described them so completely in giving his account of the new building. Becker[74] said that Festus may have meant this temple when he spoke of the *sacellum*, but even he doubted the truth of this hypothesis. *Sacellum* is scarcely the word which a Roman would have used for a magnificent temple of huge size surrounded by a great portico.

The argument that there must be a Temple of Quirinus near the valley between the Quirinal and the Viminal hills is entirely without support from ancient writers, and grows out of the old name, Valley of Quirinus. But we have seen that the importance of the god was such that the name of the elevation on which his worship centered, was changed from Agonalis to Quirinalis, a name which spread to the entire hill.[75] The gate by his sanctuary was called Quirinalis, and the valley between his hill and the rest of the city also bore his name. The name popularly given to the valley is insufficient evidence for the presence of a temple or a portico at the foot of the hill. The dominating influence of the god and the Collis Quirinalis would account sufficiently for the name of the valley.

Equally unsupported is Bonfiglietti's contention[76] that Cicero's

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68 *Mon. Ancyr.* 4. 5, 6. 32; *cf.* Becker *op. cit.* 1. 571.
69 3. 2. 7.
70 *Op. cit.* 1. 570.
71 *Prolegomena to Ovid's Fasti* 143.
72 54. 19.
73 3. 2. 7.
74 *Op. cit.* 1. 573.
75 Paul. ex Fest. 10 M.; *cf.* Gilbert *Topog.* 139.
76 *Bull. Com.* 1926. 150.

allusion[77] to Caesar as a close neighbor to Atticus was evidence of a second temple near his home. The Domus Attici was in sight of the temple, and Cicero's caustic tongue would not have shrunk from exaggeration.

The fact that there were in the ancient calendars three days sacred to Quirinus has led some scholars[78] to argue that there were three temples whose founding days were thus honored. This conclusion, however, is unwarranted. February 17 was the day of the Quirinalia, the most ancient of the republican feast days, and doubtless commemorated the erection of the earliest altar or shrine to Quirinus on the hill. Wissowa's theory[79] that this date was made sacred by the founding of the Augustan temple is disproved by the inclusion of the Quirinalia in the calendar recently discovered at Antium,[80] which antedates the time of Julius Caesar. The second date, June 27, changed to 29 by the Julian reform of the calendar, was not a day sacred to Quirinus in the calendar of Antium, but is so marked in the *Fasti Venusini*.[81] But as this was engraved about eleven years before Augustus restored the Temple of Quirinus,[82] it must commemorate an earlier rebuilding, possibly that of Papirius. Of the third festival day in honor of Quirinus, August 23, mention is made only in the calendar of Antium and in the fragments of the *Fasti Fratrum Arvalium*.[83] Inasmuch as it falls on the Vulcanalia in connection with sacrifices to Vulcan, Ops, Juturna, and Hora, it seems very unlikely that this day represents the founding day of the great Augustan temple. Instead, one is inclined to see a sacrifice to the god of fire, a propitiatory offering to prevent another such conflagration as once almost destroyed the temple.[84] Possibly the day commemorates the dedication

[77] *Ad Att.* 12. 47. 3.
[78] *Cf.* Aust *De aed. sac.* 35.
[79] *Anal. Rom. topog.* 13.
[80] *N. S.* 1921. 87.
[81] *C. I. L.* 1^2. 310.
[82] Wissowa *loc. cit.*; Jordan *Ephem. Epig.* 1. 239; *N. S.* 1921. 109.
[83] *C. I. L.* 1^2. 326.
[84] For a complete discussion of the three festival days see Jordan *Ephem. Epig.* 1. 239; Becker *Topog.* 569; Lanciani *Bull. Com.* 1889. 336 ff.; Wissowa *Hermes* 26. 137, *Anal. Rom. topog.* 13, *R. K.* 1912. 156, *Ges. Abh.* 144–146, 268–270; Mommsen *C. I. L.* $1.^2$ 212, 250, 310, 326, 395; Merkel *Prolegomena to Ovid's Fasti* 143; Gatti *N. S.* 1921. 87, 109.

of the Temple of Hora, who is mentioned with Quirinus in the calendar of Antium.

This interpretation of the three festival days of Quirinus does not include a founding day for the temple built by Augustus. In the emperor's attempt to restore the former religious faith of his people, he may have wished to give new significance to an ancient festival rather than to add another in honor of Quirinus. It is entirely possible that he dedicated his temple on the Quirinalia, a day already associated with Quirinus, and dear to the hearts of the conservative Romans. The fact that there were three days sacred to Quirinus does not prove the existence of more than one temple site, but only shows the vicissitudes through which the *aedes Quirini* passed during its long history. So, in spite of the changes made through the development of the simple shrine by the gate into the magnificent temple of Augustus, it is with one sanctuary of Quirinus and only one that we have to deal.[85]

[85] *Cf.* Roscher *Lex.* 4. 10; Lübkers *Reallex.* 981.

IV

Location of the Temple

The next point for consideration is the exact location of the Temple of Quirinus. The restoration of Mario Cantaro, dated 1579, placed it close to the Baths of Diocletian and the Church of S. Susanna. But as we have been able to eliminate this location on account of the confusion in the names of the gates, we realize that in 1579 there was no definite knowledge of the site of the temple. Long before Urban VIII changed the contour of the hill, Quirinus had become only a tradition. Lucio Fauno[1] wrote of the Temple of Quirinus in the vicinity of S. Susanna, but said that it was near the Porta Salaria. It was this temple, he asserted, of which Vitruvius wrote,[2] and this was the shrine close to which one must seek the Temple of Flora and the vermilion factories.[3]

Pinza,[4] also claiming the elevation near the Porta Collina for the Collis Quirinalis, in his map of the hill placed an unidentified *Tempio*, presumably that of Quirinus, near the gate. But realizing the inadequacy of this location, or thinking that there were two temples of Quirinus, he placed another *Tempio*, also unnamed, in the center of the hill between S. Andrea and S. Vitalis. As this was the location most favored by topographers, it was clearly intended for the site of a second Temple of Quirinus.

In 1914 Marchetti[5] published a manuscript of the sixteenth century entitled *Annotationes Pulcherrimae*, in which a Temple of Quirinus is placed near S. Susanna. Marchetti wrote that the author was quoting more or less directly from Marliano. A second extract from the manuscript placed the temple *ubi nunc <est> S. Theodori*. Marliano,[6] however, mentioned only one

[1] *De antiq. urb. Rom.* 98.
[2] 3. 2. 7.
[3] Vitr. 7. 9. 4.
[4] *Mon. Ant.* 15. Pl. 26.
[5] *Bull. Com.* 1914. 48, 62.
[6] *Urb. Rom. topog.* (ed. 1544) 12.

location, that above S. Vitalis, although he put the Vicus Mamuri near S. Susanna.

The writers of the Renaissance united in locating the Temple of Quirinus on the southern slope of the hill above S. Vitalis. Pomponius Leto,[7] a fifteenth-century author, placed it *in medio fere dorso montis . . . a dextris.* Albertini,[8] writing in 1509, connected the site with the house of Atticus, close to S. Andrea. Fulvius[9] thought that the temple was located definitely by some remains seen by him near S. Vitalis in the Villa del Cardinale Genuzio. It was later proved, however, that these remains belonged to the private house of Betitius Perpetuus Arzygius.[10] Lucio Fauno[11] published in 1534 a similar statement adding: ad hanc domum Pomponii Attici Quirini fuisse templum putant, quod pulcherrimum haberet porticum. His words show that in 1534 the Temple of Quirinus was a mere matter of tradition and conjecture.

Bufalini,[12] a few years later, drew a topographical map of the Quirinal Hill, in which he placed the temple on the top of it, directly back of S. Vitalis. Lucio Mauro,[13] in 1562, stated that Romulus appeared to Proculus in the Valley of Quirinus and directed him to build the temple on the hill above that point, that is, just above S. Vitalis. This account is interesting, less for its traditional location of the temple, than for its implied origin of the name Valle di Quirino. But Mauro spoke also of the temple between the laurel trees which gave the name to the hill, and this he placed near S. Susanna, along with the Vicus and Statua Mamuri.

Marliano, an author much quoted by later writers on Rome, stated[14] that the Temple of Quirinus immediately adjoined the house of Pomponius Atticus, and reported that some persons contended that there was a portico about the temple. He knew

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[7] Quoted by Marchetti *Bull. Com.* 1914. 62.
[8] *De Mirab. urbis* 33, 49.
[9] *Ant. urb.* 2. 22.
[10] *N. S.* 1888. 493–496; *Rh. Mus.* 1894. 387.
[11] *De ant. urb. Rom.* 97.
[12] *Pianta di Roma* (ed. 1551).
[13] *Le antichità della città di Roma* 82.
[14] *Descrizione di Roma antica* 1. 110.

of this only by hearsay and scarcely gave credence to the story. He had heard also[15] that a long flight of steps led to the temple, but that these had been removed to the Capitoline Hill to be used for the Church of Aracoeli, a tradition that remained until Nibby[16] successfully showed that it could not be founded upon fact.

By 1638, the temple had been almost forgotten. Totti,[17] speaking of S. Vitalis, said that there was a vague impression that in that neighborhood was once the Temple of Quirinus, built where Romulus had appeared to Proculus. He, too, mentioned the long flight of steps by which one reached the temple. Pirro Ligorio in 1665 drew a map of Rome which indicated the Vicus Mamuri, but not both the Alta Semita and the Vicus Longus. One of these streets appeared, inaccurately placed. The Temple of Quirinus was located on the southern side of the hill, not far from S. Vitalis. This map was reproduced by Donati[18], who explained it by the statement that, besides the *aedes Quirini* near the gate, there was a second magnificent temple towering high above the valley where now is located the Church of S. Vitalis.

Modern writers, too, have accepted unquestioningly this site on the southern slope for the *aedes Quirini*. Antonio di Romanis[19] placed the temple on the edge of the hill next to the Baths of Constantine. He did not indicate a second temple, but placed the Vicus Mamuri near S. Susanna. Franz Reber[20] mentioned besides the *sacellum*, erroneously located by the Porta Collina, a great temple near the Baths. Apparently, this hypothesis rested upon the statement that Quirinus was close to the *sacellum* of Semo Sancus.[21] The error arose from the fact that not the Temple of Semo Sancus on the southwestern slope of the hill, but the smaller *sacellum* somewhat farther north, was neighbor to Quirinus.[22]

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[15] *Urb. Rom. topog.* (ed. 1588) 5. 23.
[16] Nardini *Rom. Ant.* (ed. Nibby) 4. 6.
[17] *Ritratto di Roma moderna* (ed. 1638) 505.
[18] *De urbe Roma* (ed. 1695) 229.
[19] *Pianta delle vestigia di Roma* (ed. 1839).
[20] *Die Ruinen Roms* (ed. 1789) 494.
[21] Livy 8. 20. 8.
[22] *Cf.* Nardini *Rom. ant.* (ed. Nibby) 4. 6. 73.

Nardini[23] argued that the site of the temple was absolutely certain, as was proved by remains in the gardens of the Jesuits next to S. Andrea. It extended, in his opinion, to the southern edge of the hill near S. Vitalis and dominated the Valley of Quirinus.

Becker[24] commented upon the fact that all topographers agreed that the temple was above S. Vitalis near S. Andrea. He recognized that the arguments were weak, but yet clung to the traditional location. He admitted that the results of the excavations were negative, and that the arguments built upon the story of the marble steps were fallacious. He relied upon the *Notitia* alone for topographical data. Since in that work the statue of Mamurius was mentioned between the Baths of Constantine and the Temple of Quirinus, he said, the Vicus Mamuri must have been at S. Andrea and the temple must have been near S. Andrea in the part of the hill which faces the Viminal. He offered no proof save the statement that a comparison with other temples would be sufficient basis for his contention.

That the evidence gained from the *Notitia* is in favor of a location in the central part of the hill no one would question. But while Becker wrote convincingly in support of the statement that the Papirian temple and the Augustan temple were really the same sanctuary, the one merely a restoration of the other, he failed to see that the *sacellum* was again only the earlier form of the Papirian temple, and all three were erected upon an area sacred to Mars-Quirinus. Festus[25] is authority for the statement that this *sacellum* was beside the Porta Quirinalis, not near S. Andrea nor near the Baths of Constantine.

Preller, Richter, Gilbert, and Urlichs[26] also accepted the traditional location of the temple. Urlichs, however, rejected as proof of this theory the archaeological remains discovered in the garden next to S. Andrea, and did not believe that the steps of the temple were transferred to the Church of Aracoeli.

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[23] *Loc. cit.*
[24] *Topog.* 569, 573.
[25] 225 M.
[26] Preller *Röm. Myth.* 1. 369; Richter *Topog.* 181; Gilbert *Topog.* 1. 281; Urlichs *Beschr. d. St. Rom.* 3. 2. 366; Platner-Urlichs *Beschr. Roms* 3. 43.

When the altar southwest of the Church of S. Andrea was discovered, it was seized upon by Gatti[27] as possible proof of the location of the Temple of Quirinus. It was not long, however, before this was identified by archaeologists[28] as the Ara Incendii Neroniani rather than an altar in front of a great Temple of Quirinus.

Other scholars have rejected this traditional location between S. Vitalis and S. Andrea and have been looking for other sites.[29] In 1926, however, Bonfiglietti[30] again examined the evidence and came to the old conclusion, saying that any other decision involved a negation of Livy and his History of Rome. He asserted that the temple erected by Numa was thought of for nineteen centuries in connection with the slope of the Quirinal above the Viminal valley; that, rebuilt by Augustus, it was a familiar site to Livy; that "successively ruined but always visible" it was seen and recorded by historians and topographers of the Renaissance. He mentioned an other Temple of Quirinus, later than that of Numa, near S. Susanna, a totally different one from that which we are discussing.

We have seen that this temple near S. Susanna and the Colline Gate never existed save in the minds of scholars confused by their ignorance of the location and names of the city gates. We must reject also the location next to S. Andrea. For instead of remains of the Portico and Temple of Quirinus, which Andreas Fulvius said that he saw revealed in the excavations,[31] and which Bonfiglietti recently mentioned as belonging to the Temple of Quirinus,[32] there were found only evidences of a private house. The discovery of inscriptions on a travertine *cippus* and a lead pipe leading to the house,[33] proved that it belonged to T. Flavius Sabinus, either the brother or the uncle of the emperor Vespasian. This, with the other houses which were found near by, entirely

[27] *Bull. Com.* 1888. 300, 493.
[28] *N. S.* 1888. 299; *Bull. Com.* 1889. 331–335, 379–391 and Pl. 10; *Röm. Mitt.* 1891. 116.
[29] See below, pages 35–38.
[30] *Bull. Com.* 1926. 150.
[31] *Antichità di Roma* (ed. 1526) 2. 63; Lanciani *Storia degli Scavi* 1. 231.
[32] *Loc. cit.*
[33] *C. I. L.* 6. 29788, 15. 7451, 7452; *cf. Rh. Mus.* 1894. 400.

disproved the erection in that precise locality of a magnificent and spacious temple.

The arguments of Bonfiglietti based upon Cicero and Livy are equally unsound. He asserted that both these authors give evidence that the temple stood above S. Vitalis on the lower slopes of the hill, close to the Ara Incendii Neroniani. But Cicero says only that it was near the house of Atticus,[34] and Livy's topographical allusions concern merely the position of the temple in relation to the Sacellum of Semo Sancus.[35] This was not the Temple of Semo Sancus at the southwestern edge of the hill, as Bonfiglietti supposed, but the smaller shrine north of this, as we have shown above.[36] The two authors on whom he based his argument give evidence only that the temple was near the center of the hill, not far from the house of Atticus, but not necessarily adjacent to it.

Jordan, also, in the second part of his *Topographie der Stadt Rom*,[37] placed the temple on the southern slope of the hill, between S. Vitalis and S. Susanna. It is interesting to note, however, that in the third part of the *Topographie* I, revised by Huelsen,[38] the *aedes Quirini* was located north of the Alta Semita and nearer the Porta Quirinalis than his predecessors had placed it.

Among the older writers, Georgius Fabricius[39] was alone in seeking the main Temple of Quirinus, the one built by Augustus, in the Valley of Quirinus. He avoided inconsistencies with ancient authors by saying that there were several other temples in honor of Quirinus, presumably on the Collis Quirinalis, but that the magnificent temple and portico were probably in the Valle di Quirimo. The only basis for this supposition, however, was the name Valle di Quirino, which, as we have seen,[40] was derived from the name of the hill, rather than from a temple in the immediate vicinity.

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[34] *Ad Att.* 13. 45, *De Leg.* 1. 1. 3.
[35] 8. 20. 8.
[36] See page 32.
[37] *Topog.* 2. 125.
[38] *Topog.* 1. 3. 409 and map 7.
[39] *Roma* 34.
[40] See pages 9 and 27.

In Nardini's *Roma Antica* there is a plan of the hill, which locates the Temple of Quirinus outside of the city walls, with the cinnabar factories and the Circus Florae near at hand. He used as evidence for the proximity of these buildings to one another only the statement of Vitruvius,[41] neglecting all that we know of the history of the god and his cult, and of the temple itself. From the very beginning of the Sabine settlement on the Quirinal Hill, the god Quirinus was honored within the encircling walls. And it is unthinkable that the inhabitants of the Palatine community went outside of them to worship the founder of their city.

A similar location was suggested by Lorenzo Barbiellini.[42] Relying upon Martial's statement in regard to his proximity to the Temple of Quirinus, he wished to place the Augustan temple (not the ancient one of Numa) close to the Pila Tiburtina on the northern slope of the hill, outside of the Servian wall.

Lanciani[43] was the first to recognize the importance of the inscriptions found in the Quirinal gardens during the régime of Urban VIII, in establishing the location of the Temple of Quirinus.[44] Both of these inscriptions, as is shown by the form of the letters, the spelling, and the arrangement of the words, are of great antiquity. The one is a dedication to Mars, the other to Quirinus—convincing evidence of the identity of these gods. It is very unlikely that these dedicatory inscriptions came from any place other than the Temple of Quirinus; but although we know that they came from the Quirinal Gardens, the exact spot where they were found is not known.

Lanciani[45] placed the temple in the western part of the gardens, in front of the Via Milano, just above the tunnel through the hill. He was led to this conclusion because he, too, found the Porta Salutis at the Via Quattro Fontane, and located the Temple of Salus and other buildings in topographical relation to it in the immediate vicinity of the gate. This error led him to place the

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41 7. 9. 4.

42 *Roma antica, distinta per regioni* (ed. 1741) 57.

43 *Bull. Com.* 1873. 226.

44 *C. I. L.* 6. 475, 565 = 1². 803; Dessau *I. L. S.* 3141.

45 *F. U.* Pl. XVI.

Temple of Quirinus farther from the gate than it should be, and caused him to fall into the still greater error of locating the temple upon the ground that was filled in at the time of Urban VIII. The Traforo was dug in the valley between the Collis Quirinalis and the Collis Salutaris, and excavations for it revealed a great private house belonging to C. Fulvius Plautianus,[46] about twenty-five meters below the level of the Quirinal Gardens. This house, extending through the valley for 130 meters, precludes the possibility of assigning this location to the great Temple of Quirinus. It is obvious that the temple must be sought, not west of this point on the Collis Salutaris, but on the hill which was named for the god whose shrine was built *ad portam Quirinalem*.

Schneider[47] placed the temple somewhat further to the northeast, precisely opposite the Ara Incendii Neroniani. But he did not take into account the statement of Festus[48] that the shrine was near the gate.

Wissowa,[49] after proving that the fourth height called Collis Quirinalis was the correct location for the Porta Quirinalis and the Temple of Quirinus, stated that the ancient *sacellum*, and later the temple built by Augustus, stood behind the gardens of the royal palace, approximately in the northern corner of the City of Four Regions. This seems to be a part of the sacred precinct of Mars-Quirinus, but too far from the Alta Semita for the temple itself.

Between the Via Quattro Fontane and the Villa Spithoever there are traces of two "Servian" walls instead of one. The original wall lies approximately halfway between the later wall and Via Venti Settembre.[50] On the western side of Via Quattro Fontane the remains of the Servian wall show a sharp turn to the right, evidently to meet the earlier wall. The first gate, then, would be at no great distance from the steps found

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[46] Bonfiglietti *Bull. Com.* 1926. 164.
[47] *Das alte Rom* (ed. 1896).
[48] 255 M.
[49] *Ges. Abh.* 144 ff.; Roscher *Lex.* 4. 10.
[50] Van Deman *viva voce* and unpublished notes and observations; Lanciani *Bull. Com.* 1876. 121; *N. S.* 1907. 439, 504; Pinza *Mon. Ant.* 15. Pl. XXVI.

in the Villa Crawshy.[51] When the second wall was built, close to the present Palazzo Barberini, a new gate must have been placed approximately where the Via Quattro Fontane cuts the wall. The exact point would probably be found by following a line drawn from the above mentioned steps to a street in front of the Palazzo Barberini and oriented with it. The *sacellum Quirini* has been described as being near the gate. This earliest shrine must have been near the earliest gate, and therefore nearer to the Alta Semita than Wissowa would place it.

Huelsen's sketch in the *Rheinisches Museum* of 1894 places the Temple of Quirinus exactly opposite the Vicus Mamuri.[52] There seems no reasonable ground for doubting that the sanctuary and the street bear a relation to each other. But the street was named for the statue of Mamurius which stood probably at the head of the street. The temple would not have been located at just that point, or the street would have been named for the god Quirinus. The mediaeval writers who mentioned the Vicus Mamuri said, "and there was also his statue".[53] In his *Forma Urbis* Huelsen located the temple in the same place, too close to the Vicus Mamuri and too far from the gate.[54]

In the Platner-Ashby *Topographical Dictionary*,[55] the site is said to be "probably in the eastern part of the present gardens of the royal palace, near the edge of the hill." This location seems too remote from the early gate, besides being without any relation to the Vicus and the Statua Mamuri. The map appended to the dictionary is that used in Platner's earlier work, the *Topography and Monuments of Ancient Rome*, and shows the temple where Lanciani had placed it, in the valley between the Collis Salutis and the Collis Quirinalis, on ground occupied by the great Domus Plautiani.

We are told by Livy[56] of a *sacrarium Saliorum* erected by Tullus Hostilius, which Donati[57] said was at the Vicus Mamuri.

[51] *Bull. Com.* 1892. 271–275, Pl. 15; *Röm. Mitt.* 1893. 303, 304.
[52] *Rh. Mus.* 1894. 419.
[53] Pomponius Leto *De vetustate urbis* (ed. De Rossi, *Studi e documenti di storia e diretto*) 3. 60.
[54] Kiepert-Huelsen *Forma urbis Romae antiquae*, Tav. 9.
[55] 439.
[56] 5. 30.
[57] *De urbe Roma* 235; *cf.* Nardini *Rom. ant.* 4. 6.

This was where the sacred shields were kept. It seems natural to suppose that after the story of Mamurius Veturius, the smith who made the eleven shields to protect the one fallen from heaven, had gained popular favor, the statue was erected in his honor near the *sacrarium;* and that the land on the northern side of the Alta Semita opposite the Vicus Mamuri was occupied by the statue and, at no great distance, by the *sacrarium Saliorum.* The temple, then, must have been nearer the gate, yet not far from the *sacrarium.*

There seems, therefore, to be one place on the hill which can be definitely assigned to the Temple of Quirinus, namely, the area west of the steps discovered in the Villa Crawshy, beginning approximately at the Via Giardini and extending along Via Venti Settembre to a point about a hundred meters west. We do not know the dimensions of the temple, but we have a fairly accurate idea of the ground plan.[58] We know that it had seventy-six columns, a double row of eight at the two ends and of fifteen at the sides. Lanciani[59] estimated that it may have measured fifty meters by twenty-five meters without the portico, and this is a conservative estimate. A length of sixty meters would not be impossible. With the portico extending all around it, the total space covered would probably be at least one hundred meters, thus occupying all the area between the *sacrarium Mamuri* and the gate.

There seems no other place available for a temple of this size, even if our knowledge of the Collis Quirinalis did not demand this site. The traditional location south of the hill is entirely filled with the Ara Incendii Neroniani, the Temple of the Gens Flavia, and private houses whose owners we can definitely name. The land beyond the Via Quattro Fontane is assigned to private houses. We have no ruins of the Temple of Quirinus, for it was on land levelled by Pope Urban VIII when he extended the Quirinal Gardens in 1626. That there were no considerable portions of the temple destroyed at that time is evident, inasmuch as the sixteenth-century writers on

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[58] Vitr. 3. 2. 7; Dio Cass. 54. 19.
[59] *F. U.* Pl. XVI.

archaeology knew of the edifice only by hearsay. It was doubtless destroyed long before their day. The conjecture that a beautiful Doric capital found in the garden of Ippolito d'Este belonged to the Temple of Quirinus cannot be proved;[60] but since its beauty was praised by those who saw it, one is tempted to see in it some of the workmanship of the Augustan period bestowed upon a temple in which Augustus had especial interest.

Now let us review the references to the temple found in ancient authors, to test the validity of our arguments in favor of this site.

Cicero wrote to Atticus, as to a neighbor of Caesar, when the latter placed his own statue in the Temple of Quirinus: Domum tuam pluris video futuram vicino Caesare.[61] He alluded also to the fact that Atticus lived near the Temple of Salus as well as that of Quirinus: De Caesare vicino scripseram ad te, quia cognoram ex tuis litteris. Eum *σύνναον* Quirini malo quam Salutis.[62]

The house of T. Pomponius Atticus has been found near the corner of the Alta Semita and the Clivus Salutis, across from the Temple of Salus.[63] This was about two hundred meters from the Portico of Quirinus, which would have been in plain sight on the hill the other side of the *vallicula*, and near enough to be called *vicinus*. The words of Cicero do not demand a site adjacent to the *domus Pomponi*, even if this ground were not already occupied by the houses of Betitius Perpetuus and Aemilia Paulina Asiatica.[64] The location of Martial's house is uncertain, but we know that it was near the Temple of Quirinus. He says,[65]

> sed Tiburtinae sum proximus accola pilae,
> qua videt antiquum rustica Flora Iovem.

The Pila Tiburtina is thought to have been on the northern slope of the hill, outside the Servian walls. Although we know that

[60] Lanciani *Bull. Com.* 1889. 338; Huelsen *Rh. Mus.* 1894. 405.
[61] *Ad Att.* 12. 47. 3.
[62] *Ad Att.* 12. 45. See also *De Leg.* 1. 1. 3; *Ad Att.* 13. 28. 3, 4. 1. 4.
[63] Lanciani *Bull. Com.* 1889. 380; *Storia degli Scavi* 3. 192; Huelsen *Rh. Mus.* 1894. 398.
[64] *Rh. Mus.* 1894. 387; *N. S.* 1888. 493–6; *N. S.* 1887. 275; *Röm. Mitt.* 1889. 276; *C. I. L.* 15. 7380, 6. 31961.
[65] 5. 22.

the Capitolium Vetus was low and insignificant,[66] it is easy to think of the building as being visible from the Temple of Flora through the cut between the hills. Martial described his home as humble. If, as we have said, it was on the northern slope of the hill, in a less desirable location than the aristocratic houses on the summit, one can understand why in the heat of summer he would be glad to "seek the portico of the neighboring Quirinus."[67]

Livy tells us that the *sacellum* of Semo Sancus was *adversus aedem Quirini*.[68] This sanctuary of Semo was not the temple, known to be near the Porta Sanqualis, and its exact location is unknown. It is not unreasonable to suppose, however, that it lay somewhere between the buildings forming the Quirinus-group and the Temple of Salus.

In the same immediate neighborhood was the Pulvinar Solis, an ancient shrine to Sol Indiges, as distinct from the later Oriental deities of the sun. Quintilian speaks of this as *iuxta aedem Quirini*.[69]

In the *Curiosum*[70] we find the following order of buildings: thermas Constantinas, statuam Mamuri, templum dei Quirini, hortos Salustianos. The *Notitia* reads: statuam Mamuri, templum dei Quirini, Malum Punicum, hortos Salustianos. These agree with our location of the statue of Mamurius and the Temple of Quirinus.

The Gardens of Sallust are said[71] to have extended as far as the Villa Barberini, possibly farther. *Ante forum Salustii*[72] does not seem entirely inappropriate for the location of the temple, although the main entrance was near the Colline Gate.

The only other ancient reference which deals with the location of the temple is in Vitruvius,[73] who places the vermilion factory between the temples of Flora and Quirinus. This presents no difficulty, if one locates the factory outside the walls on the slope

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[66] Val. Max. 4. 4. 11.
[67] Mart. 11. 1. 9; *cf.* 10. 58. 9.
[68] 8. 20. 8.
[69] 1. 7. 12.
[70] Jordan *Topog.* 2. 549.
[71] Vasi *Itinerario Istruttivo di Roma* 1791.
[72] *Lib. Pont. Acta S. Susanna* (ed. Mommsen) *loc. cit.*
[73] 7. 9. 4.

of the hill. It is then between Quirinus and Flora. Lanciani[74] gave to these *officinae* the choice location along the street in an aristocratic residence district. In the plans of Bufalini[75] they are located on the site of the Palazzo Albani at the Via Quattro Fontane. Huelsen[76] rightly stated that this was not only an inappropriate location from a social point of view, but was also economically unsuitable. A factory must have water, which would be more easily available in the valley, where the *Aquae Sallustianae* flowed, than on the top of the hill.

We have already noted that besides the great temple on the Collis Quirinalis proper, there was a *sacrarium* in which the sacred shields were kept for safety, probably close to the later location of the *Statua Mamuri.* This was the center of the activities of the Salii Collini, the ancient priesthood of Quirinus. The Flamen Quirinalis may have lived in the same vicinity, perhaps farther away from the road, since the Vestal Virgins in 390 B. C. chose a spot near his home in which to bury the jars containing the sacred relics entrusted to their care.[77]

In close relation, probably, to the Temple of Quirinus was a shrine of Hora or Horta,[78] although just what connection there was between Quirinus and Hora is unknown. The pair have been compared with Mars and Hera, and Romulus and Hersilia.[79] It is possible that the three goddesses, Hora, Hera, and Hersilia, are to be considered as one deity, just as were Mars, Romulus, and Quirinus.

From earliest times there was a shrine of the Argei close to the *sacellum* of Quirinus,[80] apparently between this and the Pulvinar Solis. Numa lived on the Quirinal Hill, it is said,[81] although it is not known whether his home was on the part of the hill under discussion. Mamurius, the mythical smith, was supposed to have

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[74] *F. U.* Pl. XVI.

[75] *Pianta di Roma* (ed. 1551).

[76] *Rh. Mus.* 1894. 405.

[77] Livy 5. 40. 8; Plut. *Camill.* 20; *cf.* Platner *Top. Dict.* 438.

[78] Plut. *Q. R.* 46; Ovid *Met.* 14. 832; Gellius 13. 23; Ennius *Ann.* 117 (ed. Vahlen); *cf.* Paulus ex Fest. 100 M.; *N. S.* 1921. 109.

[79] Gilbert *Topog.* 283.

[80] Varro *L. L.* 5. 52.

[81] Plut. *Num.* 14; Solin. 1. 21; Jordan *Topog.* 1. 1. 156.

his home near the *sacrarium* in which the shields were kept,[82] but this tradition is too shadowy to be used as evidence.

It seems fairly well established that the entire eminence known as the Collis Quirinalis proper was from early times associated with the worship of Mars-Quirinus, and that the entire area from the depression in which stood the house of Plautianus to the lower level on the north, close to the Via Quattro Fontane, was used in his service. We can, therefore, come to a definite conclusion as to the site of the Temple of Quirinus. The place at which certain inscriptions have been found points to a location in the gardens of the royal palace. The consideration of other sites has been eliminated by the excavations of modern times, which have uncovered buildings of a different kind. A wall, somewhat earlier than that commonly called "Servian", has been found about fifty meters closer to the Alta Semita than was the better known rampart. There must have been also an earlier gate, nearer the street, close to the steps found in the Villa Crawshy. Since the *sacellum* of Quirinus was near the city gate, and the later temple on the same site, we can with reasonable certainty conclude that the Temple of Quirinus extended approximately from the Via Giardini to a point one hundred meters west, along the Via Venti Settembre.

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[82] Preller *Röm. Myth.* 1. 360.

V

Subsequent History of the Temple

The question naturally arises as to the time when the hill ceased to be used as the sacred precinct of Quirinus. We are told that the Temple of Quirinus was closed and barred for a considerable time during the empire, so that no curious eyes could penetrate its mysterious secrets.[1] It lasted until the fourth century, as proved by the Regionary Catalogues. Then it fell into oblivion. But we know that in the year 409 Alaric succeeded in entering the city through the Porta Salaria, and for three days and three nights gave the city over to flames. First the Gardens of Sallust were destroyed, and then all the buildings in the valley below. Archaeological evidence[2] proves that the house of Plautianus was wrecked by fire, probably at the same time. The house of Aemilia Paulina Asiatica shows the effects of a great conflagration.[3] It is scarcely possible that the Temple of Quirinus, lying between these great houses, escaped the same fate. The fire must have devastated the hill almost to the Baths of Constantine, for not until we reach this part of the hill do we find remains of houses free from evidence of flames.

For many years the hill lay in ruins. The early plans and maps of the Middle Ages show a district apparently uncultivated and unexcavated. Only the ruins of the Temple of Serapis, a few vestiges of the Baths of Constantine, and an arch in the approximate location of the Porta Quirinalis are there shown. In 1626, however, Urban VIII, in order to make more room for the Pontifical palace, levelled off the higher parts of the hill, including the location of the Temple of Quirinus, and filled up the hollows between the Collis Salutaris and the Collis Quirinalis. The depression where stood the house of Plautianus, between the

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[1] Andreas Marianus *Ruinarum Romae epigrammata* 63.
[2] *Bull. Com.* 1926. 164.
[3] *Bull. Com.* 1926. 155.

two hills, was filled to a depth of twenty-five meters, and a level area was formed, which reached from the Piazza Quirinale beyond the city gates.[4]

Thus perished every vestige of the great Temple of Quirinus, and upon its site lie the gardens of the Palazzo Reale.

[4] Andreas Marianus *op. cit.* 54.

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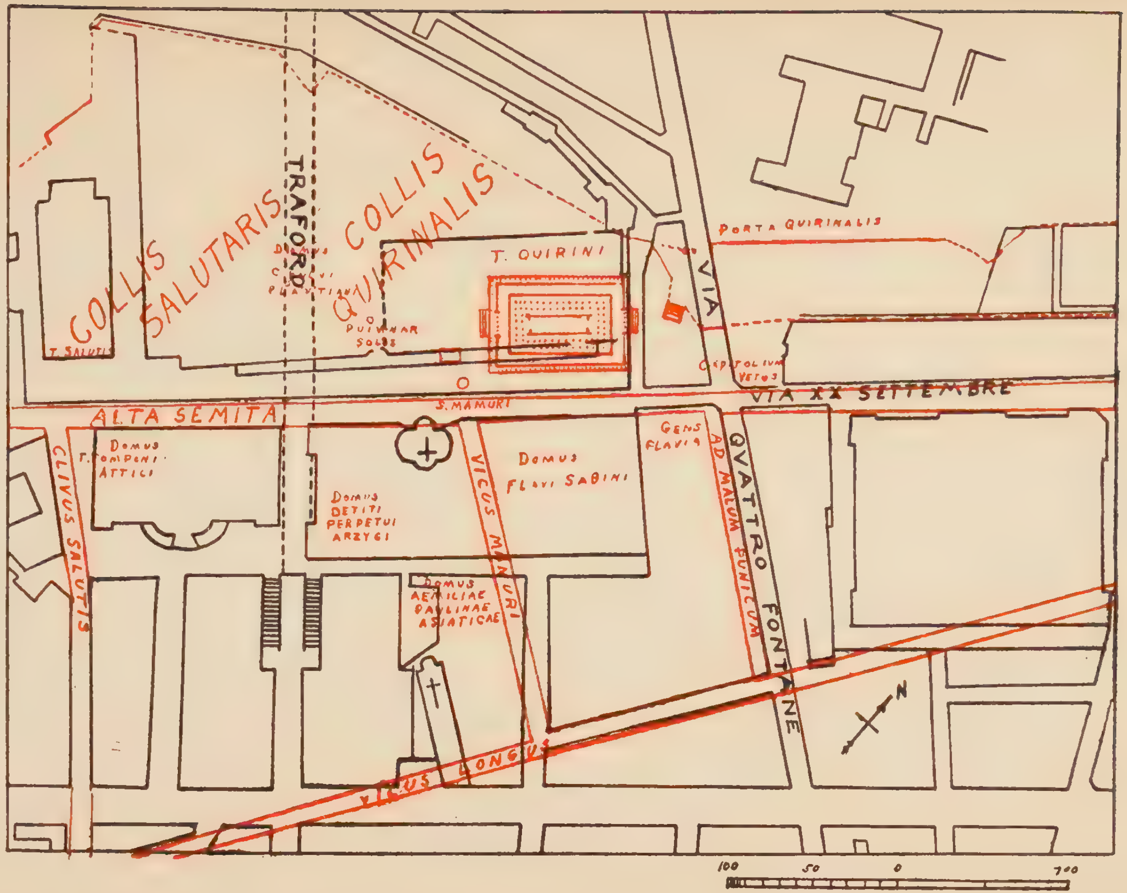
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COLLIS SALUTARIS
COLLIS QUIRINALIS
TRAFORO
T. QUIRINI
PORTA QUIRINALIS
VIA
CAPITOLIUM VETUS
VIA XX SETTEMBRE
ALTA SEMITA
S. MAMURI
PULVINAR SOLIS
T. SALUTIS
DOMUS T. POMPONI ATTICI
CLIVUS SALUTIS
DOMUS FLAVI SABINI
GENS FLAVIA
AD MALUM PUNICUM
QUATTRO FONTANE
VICUS MAMURI
DOMUS AEMILIAE PAULINAE ASIATICAE
VICUS LONGUS
N
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